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TOHAK 11

TO: HENRY KISSINGER  
FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

THE FOLLOWING EXTRACT REFLECTS ALL QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS IN THE PRESIDENT'S PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH DEALT WITH FOREIGN POLICY.

QUESTION: MR. PRESIDENT, WHEN DO YOU THINK THE EMBARGO MIGHT BE LIFTED?

THE PRESIDENT: THE EMBARGO QUESTION IS ONE THAT I KNOW IS ON THE MINDS OF ALL OF US, AND IT IS ONE THAT PRESENTLY IS UNDER CONSIDERATION, AS YOU KNOW, BY THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES.

I SHOULD POINT OUT HERE THAT DR. KISSINGER'S TRIP TO THE MIDEAST IS DIRECTED TOWARD GETTING A DISENGAGEMENT OR GETTING TALKS STARTED WITH REGARD TO A DISENGAGEMENT ON THE SYRIAN FRONT. THAT, FOLLOWING THE DISENGAGEMENT ON THE EGYPTIAN FRONT, I THINK, WILL HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT, ALTHOUGH IT IS NOT LINKED TO THE PROBLEM OF THE EMBARGO DIRECTLY.

IF I COULD PERHAPS ELABORATE JUST A BIT ON THAT, AS FAR AS THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES ARE CONCERNED WE BELIEVE IT IS IN THEIR INTEREST TO LIFT THE EMBARGO. THEY SHOULD DO THAT INDEPENDENTLY OF WHAT HAPPENS ON THE FRONT OF THE NEGOTIATION WITH REGARD TO DEVELOPING A PERMANENT PEACE IN THE MIDEAST.

AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED, WE BELIEVE THAT GETTING A PERMANENT PEACE IN THE MIDEAST IS A GOAL WORTH ACHIEVING APART FROM THE EMBARGO.

BUT WHILE THEY ARE NOT CONDITIONED ON ONE ANOTHER BY EITHER PARTY, WHAT HAPPENS IN ONE AREA INEVITABLY AFFECTS WHAT HAPPENS IN THE OTHER. I CAN SAY, BASED ON THE CONVERSATIONS I HAVE HAD WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTERS I MET WITH LAST WEEK, AND BASED ON THE REPORTS I HAVE RECEIVED TO DATE, I BELIEVE WE ARE GOING TO MAKE CONTINUED PROGRESS ON THE PEACE FRONT. I BELIEVE THAT WILL BE HELPFUL IN BRINGING PROGRESS ON GETTING THE EMBARGO LIFTED.

BY THE SAME TOKEN, IF THE EMBARGO IS NOT LIFTED, IT WILL NATURALLY SLOW DOWN THE EFFORTS THAT WE ARE MAKING ON THE PEACE FRONT. IT IS BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT WE ARE GOING TO MAKE PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING THOSE PARTICULAR ITEMS THAT ARE ESSENTIAL TOWARDS MOVEMENT TOWARD A PERMANENT PEACE IN THE MIDEAST THAT THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES WILL CONCLUDE THAT THEY SHOULD MOVE ON THE EMBARGO QUESTION.

QUESTION: MR. PRESIDENT, THE SHAH OF IRAN SAID IN AN INTERVIEW THAT THE UNITED STATES IS GETTING AS MUCH OIL NOW AS IT DID BEFORE THE EMBARGO AND MR. SIMON OF THE FEDERAL ENERGY OFFICE SAID SUCH A STATEMENT IS IRRESPONSIBLE AND WRECKLESS. CAN YOU STRAIGHTEN

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US OUT? ARE WE GETTING AS MUCH OIL AND WHY WOULD THE SHAH SAY IT?

THE PRESIDENT: WELL, FIRST, I WOULD NOT SAY THAT THE SHAH WAS IRRESPONSIBLE AND WRECKLESS. HOWEVER, HIS INFORMATION, I THINK, IS DIFFERENT FROM OURS AND WE HAVE GOOD REASON TO KNOW WHAT WE ARE GETTING.

WE ARE GETTING SUBSTANTIALLY LESS FROM THE OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES IN THE MIDEAST THAN WE WERE BEFORE THE EMBARGO. THAT IS WHY WE ARE, OF COURSE, VERY ANXIOUS TO GET THE EMBARGO LIFTED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

QUESTION: MR. PRESIDENT, WHAT IS YOUR PERSONAL REACTION TO THE EXPULSION BY THE SOVIET UNION OF ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN AND WHETHER IT WOULD INVOLVE OUR POLICY IN DETENTE?

THE PRESIDENT: MY PERSONAL REACTION IS THAT I AM, OF COURSE, AN ADMIRER OF A MAN WHO HAS WON A NOBEL PRIZE FOR LITERATURE AND ONE WHO HAS ALSO SHOWN, AS HE HAS SHOWN, SUCH GREAT COURAGE.

SECOND, AS FAR AS OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE CONCERNED, IF I THOUGHT THAT BREAKING RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS OR TURNING OFF OUR POLICY OF NEGOTIATION AND TURNING BACK TO CONFRONTATION WOULD HELP HIM OR HELP THOUSANDS OF OTHERS LIKE HIM IN THE SOVIET UNION, WE MIGHT DO THAT.

ON THE OTHER HAND, I LOOK BACK TO THE YEARS OF CONFRONTATION, AND I FIND THAT MAN LIKE HIM, AS A MATTER OF FACT, RATHER THAN BEING SENT TO PARIS, WOULD HAVE BEEN SENT TO SIBERIA OR PROBABLY WORSE.

AS FAR AS OUR RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ARE CONCERNED, WE SHALL CONTINUE. WE SHALL CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE, RECOGNIZING THAT THEY DON'T LIKE OUR SYSTEM OR APPROVE OF IT, AND I DON'T LIKE THEIR SYSTEM OR APPROVE OF IT.

MR. BREZHNEV KNOWS THAT, AND I KNOW IT, AND WE HAVE DISCUSSED IT QUITE BLUNTLY AND DIRECTLY. HOWEVER, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT BOTH NATIONS, BEING THE SUPERPOWERS THAT WE ARE, CONTINUE TO MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD LIMITING ARMS, TOWARD AVOIDING CONFRONTATION WHICH MIGHT EXPLODE INTO WAR, AS IT MIGHT HAVE IN THE MIDEAST IF WE HAD NOT HAD THIS PERIOD OF NEGOTIATION, AND ALSO CONTINUING THOSE NEGOTIATIONS FOR REDUCTION OF FORCES IN EUROPE AND REDUCTION OF ARMS OR CERTAINLY THE LIMITATION OF ARMS AND THE VARIOUS OTHER INITIATIVES THAT WE ARE UNDERTAKING WITH THE SOVIETS.

IN A NUTSHELL, THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE TO CONSIDER: DO WE WANT TO GO BACK TO A PERIOD WHEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, THE TWO GREAT SUPERPOWERS, STOOD IN CONFRONTATION AGAINST EACH OTHER

AND RISK A RUNAWAY NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, AND ALSO CRISES IN BERLIN, IN THE MIDEAST, EVEN AGAIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA OR OTHER PLACES OF THE WORLD, OR DO WE WANT TO CONTINUE ON A PATH IN WHICH WE RECOGNIZE OUR DIFFERENCES BUT TRY TO RECOGNIZE ALSO THE FACT THAT WE MUST EITHER LIVE TOGETHER OR WE WILL ALL DIE TOGETHER?

QUESTION: IN YOUR STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS, YOU MENTIONED THAT ARAB LEADERS HAD ASSURED YOU THAT THEY WERE CALLING AN URGENT MEETING TO DISCUSS OR CONSIDER THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO. WERE YOU MISLED BY THE ARAB LEADERS OR WHAT HAPPENED TO THAT MEETING?

THE PRESIDENT: MR. LISAGOR, WE WERE INFORMED THAT THEY WERE CALLING AN URGENT MEETING. WE EXPECTED THAT TO TAKE PLACE ON THE

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14TH OF FEBRUARY. BUT THE ARAB LEADERS, AS YOU KNOW, ARE NOT A UNITED GROUP NECESSARILY, AND THAT IS AN UNDERSTATEMENT. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, WHILE THE ARAB LEADER WHO HAD GIVEN US THIS ASSURANCE TRIED TO GO FORWARD WITH THE MEETING, THEY WERE UNABLE TO GET THE COOPERATION OF OTHERS.

I BELIEVE NOW, HOWEVER, THAT THEY WILL GET THAT COOPERATION, THAT THE MEETING WILL BE HELD, AND I BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL LIFT THE EMBARGO.

END.

WARM REGARDS.

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